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# HISTORY AND THEORIES OF WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENTS

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

*compiled by*

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# Introduction

The selection of entries for this bibliography is based on the compilers' conception of the nature and composition of working-class movements. We believe that working-class movements comprise all the organized activities of workers to maintain or improve the position of their class or of themselves as individuals. Historically, such movements have included trade unions, political parties, co-operative societies, and cultural organizations of many kinds. In different countries and in one country at different times, these four components have been of greatly differing importance. As those in the field have already recognized, the foregoing is merely an elaboration of Professor John R. Commons' notion of "labor movement" as stated in his article by that title in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences--a concept that does not include the role of cultural organizations or the idea of the maintenance of a position.

This bibliography is "select" in more than one sense. It is limited to articles, notes, and occasional documents in journals and magazines that range from scholarly to popular to propagandistic. All the entries are in English, although a small number of them originally appeared in some other language. Furthermore, despite our efforts to find and classify a high percentage of the significant articles on the working-class movements of all countries, on the various international labor organizations, and on international labor issues, we have severely restricted the number of entries for material concerning the

United States in order to avoid extensive duplication of other bibliographies. We have included approximately 250 articles by American writers or about American events when their content seemed of especial historical interest or of international or theoretical importance. We do not claim to have included all or even most of such items; and particularly we do not claim that our 250 are the "best" of the possibilities.

Because British workers organized to improve themselves and their positions at an earlier date and more rapidly than did workers of other countries--and because of our self-imposed limitations--this bibliography is concerned primarily with the British and secondarily with the other foreign movements. One result of limiting ourselves to English-language articles is to underline the paucity of these very articles for many countries and areas. Another result, we hope, will be the encouragement of the publication of material to help fill the gaps our work indicates.

As suggested, the primary basis for our classification of entries is "geographic-linguistic". All too often the scarcity of material makes any further breakdown unjustifiable. In a rather arbitrary manner we have blocked out ten areas. These are designated by Roman numerals. Whenever it is helpful the areas are divided into sub-areas or countries, designated by capital letters. But because some articles contain discussions of appreciable length on the working-class movements of two or more countries, and because (with extremely rare exceptions) we wish to avoid entering such articles in two or more places, we have resorted to two devices. (1) If the movements of the countries discussed are within one of the ten areas, and if that area is divided into sub-areas or countries, the entry will be found immediately below the Roman numeral indicating the main area. For example, an article treating France and Italy or France and Spain will be found immediately below "II". If it was not necessary to



divide into sub-areas (true only of areas "VIII" and "IX"), the entry will be found alphabetically under one of those two areas. (2) If the movements discussed are in countries in two or more of the ten areas, the article will be found under the "International" classification, designated by Roman numeral XI --more specifically, under "XI, B". Under "XI", the capital letters "A" and "B" indicate "Organizations" (such as the International Federation of Trade Unions or the Communist International) and "Problems and Issues", respectively.

If an article is concerned exclusively or primarily with the working-class movement of one country only, it will be found under either a sub-area or the name of the country within the appropriate general area. For example, there are in the periodicals examined so few significant articles about Israel, Iran, Lebanon, and adjacent countries that these few are entered in the sub-area "Middle East", under "Asia, excluding Russia". On the other hand, there are enough articles on Germany, Austria, and Switzerland to justify breaking down "Germanic Countries" into specific countries.

For Germany and other national entities, the relative wealth of material makes more detailed classification helpful; that is, most of the entries are listed alphabetically by authors or by the first major word in unsigned articles and editorials under the headings: 1. Trade Unionism, 2. Politics, 3. Cooperatives, 4. Culture. There remain, of course, other articles about such countries as Germany, France, and Russia which deal with two or more of the components of working-class movements--most often with both unions and labor parties. For such instances there is a fifth category of classification: General. In addition to the composite items just suggested, it includes others that are "general" in the usual sense--biographical pieces, background material, and so on. For the United Kingdom only there are further sub-categories such as "Legal Issues" under "Trade Unionism" and "Labour Party" under "Politics".



The "International" material is relatively rich; consequently, its two major divisions ("Organizations" and "Problems") are each subdivided into the five categories used for the more detailed classification of articles dealing with some specific countries--Trade Unionism, Politics, and so on.

Long before the publication of Commons' article mentioned above there was general acceptance of the idea of the three- or fourfold character of working-class movements; nevertheless, any attempt to classify publications about them in general conformity with that idea has obvious drawbacks. Some users of this bibliography might like, for example, to find all items relating to the nationalization of industry in England in one place. They do not so appear in this compilation. According to the system adopted, some appear under "I, A, 2, a"--that is, under "British Isles, United Kingdom, Politics, Labour Party"; others under "I, A, 2, h"--"British Isles, United Kingdom, Politics, Labor Governments"; and still others under "I, A, 5, i"--"British Isles, United Kingdom, General, Composite or Miscellaneous". The reason for this varied classification of articles that for some purposes might be grouped more appropriately in one category is, we trust, long since clear. This is not a bibliography on specific "labor" topics as such. We have, of course, dozens, scores or hundreds of articles on collective bargaining, the legal status of trade unions, factory acts, social insurance, the "class struggle", labor-management cooperation, housing projects, health and recreational programs, universal and equal suffrage, "free republican education", and so on. The present classification relates the topic to the organized activities of working people in trade unions, politics, cooperatives, and cultural groups. Thus, an article on the nationalization of British industry may be classified in one of the ways stated above because it is a proposal of the Labor party, or an act of a Labor government, or a general discussion of the merits and demerits of nationalization in theory and practice.

The obvious method of overcoming the difficulty noted above is an adequate index. Practical considerations compelled the omission of such an index. A brief one would have been misleading and, therefore, of little or no value; a satisfactory one would have been prohibitively lengthy.

An asterisk designates an article that is theoretical or, in our judgment, of more than ordinary importance for the formulation of a theory or theories of working-class movements.

Scattered throughout the bibliography are hundreds of instances of a short series of articles on the same topic by one author, or of a symposium or controversy participated in by two or more authors. To distinguish such instances we have indented all items in the series, after the first, flush with the second line of the first item. Furthermore, we have abbreviated the citation in the second and following items (if any) in the series by omitting at least the name of the periodical. Frequently, it was also possible to omit the volume number and the year; less frequently, to omit everything but the author, title of article, and page reference. Stated otherwise, it will always be necessary to observe the first item in a series to get the name of the periodical; and sometimes, particularly in a long series, to watch for a change in the volume number or the year between the first and last items.

Many of the listed articles are extremely short. These brief items are included for two reasons. As a matter of principle (or inadequate funds), some of the most important publications carried almost exclusively such brief items. Many of them are of great significance--a statement by Clement Attlee, Sir Walter Citrine, Leon Jouhaux, Friedrich Adler or some similarly outstanding personage; an announcement by a national or international labor organization of a change in policy; an account of an incident that reveals in a few paragraphs more of the color, the spirit, and the emotions of workers' activities than can sometimes

be found in treatises of half a thousand pages.

One of our purposes is to call the user's attention to certain periodicals that possibly do not come promptly to mind as fruitful sources of material of the kind listed in this bibliography. To make room for entries from these periodicals, we have omitted others of equal significance from some more obvious sources. As specific examples, selections from Industrial and Labour Information and its successor Industry and Labour are offered more as reasonably adequate indications of what they contain than as thorough exploitation of their riches. Generally speaking, however, we have examined all the issues available in the University of California Library, Berkeley, of slightly less than one hundred and fifty periodicals and dipped into some thirty more. Our work has continued intermittently since July, 1950. We planned originally to cover one hundred and fifty years of labor history: 1800 to 1950. Actually, we collected entries to April, 1953, from most of our sources and to April, 1954, from a few of them.

Financial support for this project, from inception to publication, has come from the Institute of Industrial Relations and the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University of California, Berkeley. To these institutions, their directors, and various members of their staffs it is a pleasure to express our sincere thanks for their interest and help. We are no less grateful to many members of the staff of the University of California Library for unfailing courtesy and assistance.

It is customary for authors, editors, compilers of bibliographies and the like regretfully to accept responsibility for errors and inconsistencies that remain in their work despite their most conscientious efforts to eliminate them. For such deficiencies that are actually ours, we adopt the usual formula. But we refuse to assume any responsibility for countless apparent errors or inconsistencies. The attitude toward precision, accuracy, and consistency among

a deplorably large number of authors, editors, and compilers of indexes can be described only as one of individualism run rampant or of sovereign contempt. For certain years, or in certain periodicals, an author used both his given names; for others, he used only one name or his initials. For a run of twenty-three issues (with a single exception) the editors of one magazine did not bother to use any date whatsoever. Other editors printed the name of the same author with two or even three different spellings. In some journals, indexes almost regularly gave the name of the author, or the title of the article, or both in a form different from that which appeared in the issue containing the article. To explain these errors and inconsistencies in detail would require two or three pages, and to that there is no point. Conveniently for us, the whole matter was summed up by Alice: "...they don't seem to have any rules in particular; at least, if there are any, nobody attends to them."

We are painfully aware that errors and inconsistencies remain in our work. We hope that it will be only an extremely rare instance in which our shortcomings will hinder users of the bibliography in finding what they want.

C. A. G.

R. A. O.

R. J. W.





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## XI. International

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